

22 March 1955

ANALYSIS OF AGRARIAN PRESSURE GROUPS  
IN THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

SUMMARY

Although West German agriculture has reached again and partly surpassed its pre-war level, it is not <sup>able to compete</sup> capable of competition with its neighboring countries <sup>because of</sup> ~~owing~~ to technical backwardness, caused chiefly <sup>due to</sup> by long-standing tariff protection. The influx of immigrants from the Soviet and Polish zones of occupation has eased the manpower scarcity, but has also set new tasks in feeding additional population and settling refugee farmers. The Federal Government submitted a comprehensive plan to increase agricultural productivity and reduce gradually protectionist measures (Luebke Plan).

US policy favors, in the interest of West European defense, the increase of economic productivity and the abolition of international trade barriers. There is full agreement <sup>by whom?</sup> concerning the ultimate aims of German agrarian policy, but frequent disagreement concerning the tempo.

German agriculture is well-organized, chiefly in two big federations, the German Farmers Association, which is almost a monopoly representation and only partly outweighed by the German Agricultural Society and the

Agricultural Chambers (under the latter's influence. ?

They share the professed agrarian goals, but tend in practical questions to protect the units less able to meet competition and to slow down transition.

**AGRARIAN PRESSURE GROUPS IN THE  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

	<b>Page</b>
<b>I. Present Problems of Agrarian Policy in West Germany</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>II. US Interest in West German Agriculture</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>III. The German Agricultural Administration</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>IV. Agrarian Pressure Groups</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>A. Agricultural Associations</b>	<b>11</b>
1. German Farmers Association	11
2. German Farm Women's Association	15
3. League of German Farm Youth	16
4. Federation of German Agricultural Cooperatives	16
5. German Agricultural Society	17
6. Association of Agricultural Chambers	19
7. Other Agricultural Organizations	20
<b>B. Political Parties and Agriculture Policy</b>	<b>21</b>
1. Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union	22
2. Free Democratic Party	22
3. All-German Bloc	23
4. German Party	23
5. Social Democratic Party of Germany	23
<b>V. A Selective Bibliography of Recent Works on German Agrarian Policy</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>VI. References</b>	<b>27</b>

22 March 1955

I. PRESENT PROBLEMS OF AGRARIAN POLICY IN WEST GERMANY

War has left German agriculture in a disastrous condition. The agrarian policy of the Nazi regime had failed. 1/ It did not prevent the mass exodus of the rural population to the cities, and German manpower had to be supplanted by foreign labor. As a result of war attrition the agricultural inventory was obsolete, the soil exhausted, storage facilities destroyed and productivity lowered. 2/ In addition to that, food-surplus regions in the East had been cut off and a refugee population of 9,000,000 had been added to West Germany.

During the first post-war years, 1945-1949, US aid made up for the food and fertilizer deficiency. 3/ After the currency stabilization and the ensuing industrial recovery, the agricultural production, also, improved considerably. However, there remains much to be done. German farmers have settled to their old ways. Having been artificially insulated by protective tariffs and particularly by the full regimentation of the Nazi regime, the German farmer is not able to compete under world market conditions. He is to a large extent tradition-bound, backward in equipment and management. 4/

Large estate ownership is in general no problem in Western Germany. (Some large estates were divided by

occupation laws of 1947). The big problem is rather excessive fragmentation and scattering of lots, in particular in Bavaria and Hesse, which date back many centuries from the dividing up of community lands and prevent mechanization and rational operation. Still, about 12,000,000 acres, half of the entire area, require consolidation. Although about 30,000 new settlements for immigrants have been created, about a million of former farmers remain to be settled. 5/

The danger of a protectionist policy has been generally understood, and increased productivity and rentability is, therefore, demanded in economic literature and accepted as goal by agricultural organizations, political parties and the government. 6/ Yet, although the goal is shared by all, opinions vary about the ways and the speed of its achievement. The government had to concentrate its attention on the re-establishment of industry and on keeping down the food-price level and production costs. Hence, the legislative enactments during the first post-war years are largely short-term measures without a concerted overall program. The presence of Eastern refugees has partly alleviated the lack of agricultural manpower, but also raised the problem of their resettlement. The present Minister for Food, Agriculture and Forests of the Federal

German Republic, Heinrich Luebke, submitted a long-term plan for increasing productivity and rentability of the West German agriculture in November 1953.

This Luebke Plan consists of measures for rationalization, mechanization and modernization of farm equipment and farm buildings, improving the quality of food and other products through expansion of marketing and distribution facilities, consolidation of fragmentary holdings and prevention of new fragmentation, increasing the size of dwarf farm units, increasing the agricultural area through drainage, irrigation, dike construction and cultivation of waste lands, improvement of agricultural education and agricultural extension, and providing for low-interest agricultural credit. It aims at increasing rentability by lowering production costs rather than by artificial price and market controls. 7/

Federal legislation in 1953 aimed at accelerating land consolidation, resettlement of refugees and creating of new homesteads in former waste lands.

The Luebke Plan is supposed to dispense finally of the still-existing market regimentation and import restrictions. It has to overcome strong opposition from vested interests, conservatism and the fact that German agriculture has been considered more a way of life than an economic enterprise.

## II. US INTEREST IN WEST GERMAN AGRICULTURE

During the first years of occupation US policy in relation to food and agriculture was guided by the objective of preventing "diseases and civil unrest" and to reducing as much as possible the requirements of direct aid. During the years of the Marshall Plan Aid (ECA, 1949-51), stress was laid on economic integration and reconstruction of Europe and the liberalization of inter-European trade. The ensuing Mutual Security Agency (MSA) and Foreign Operations Administration (FOA) program centers on the defense effort which requires, in the long run, growth of the West European production basis, higher living standards, development of resources and reduction of unreasonable barriers between the European countries. 8/ Parallel to that runs the interest of the US economy in West Germany as the second largest buyer of its agricultural products. 9/

The Office of the Military Government for Germany (OMGUS) and later the Office of the High Commissioner for Germany (HICOG) had within its Office for Economic Affairs a Division of Food and Agriculture. This Division acted later simultaneously as a part of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), Special Mission for Germany, which was superseded in 1952 by the MSA and in 1953 by the FOA.

The Division is still in operation and headed by the Agricultural Attache, John J. Haggerty. 10/ In the framework of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), the Americans have pressed for trade liberalization, to which German agriculture could only reluctantly concede. In January 1955 the quota for free grain import was raised from 60 per cent to 75 per cent. According to the New York Times of 4 March 1955, Germany agreed at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade Conference (GATT) in Geneva to abolish its import controls on farm products by 1960. 11/

The US contribution to the rehabilitation of the West German agriculture has been extraordinarily great and has been generally recognized by many German writers. After direct aid by subsidies, in the form of seed goods and fertilizers, ECA counterpart funds were widely used on American advice, thus raising agricultural productivity, as for instance the promotion of new methods and techniques for improvement of pastures, seed breeding, livestock feeding and disease control, artificial insemination, soil testing, farm mechanization, agricultural research, education and extension services. American aid financed a poultry productivity program and a program to eradicate bovine tuberculosis.



During these days it was US policy to prevent formation of a monolithic organization like the former Reichsnaehrstand (Reich Food Estate). It supported the constructive elements in the program of the German Farmers Association without, however, letting it go so far as to hinder foreign trade or to get completely in control of the Federal Ministry. 12/ The Food and Agriculture Division of HICOG had in 1950-51 a special consultant on its staff, Mr. William Lodwick, who was appointed liaison officer with the German farm organizations. 13/

US representatives were very critical of the "Green Pool" plan, advanced by the French Minister Pierre Pimfflin in March 1951. The plan aimed at the creation of a free, single market for France and Germany and was widely discussed in Germany. The US position had been that it was protectionist in character, but that it could be amended. 14/

The agrarian policy of HICOG has been in full agreement with the final objectives of German agrarian policy, yet it was frequently at variance over the tempo of their realization. While the Germans were eager to accept American technical improvement, particularly modern machinery and the American agricultural-extension system, they refused "to jump with both feet into a free economy" and often continued to practice protectionism and regimentation in a

way quite distasteful to American economists. These disagreements caused friction, but HICOG refrained from using its veto against such enactments as the market laws even at a time when it had a right to do it. The American advisers exerted their influence against giving undue preference to industry over agriculture and price fixing, and favored trade liberalization in the frame of the OEEC. 15/

### III. THE GERMAN AGRICULTURAL ADMINISTRATION

The central agency of the Federal Government is the Bundesministerium fuer Ernaehrung, Landwirtschaft und Forsten (BELF, Federal Ministry for Food, Agriculture and Forests), consisting of six departments: 1) Administration, 2) Agricultural Production, 3) Foreign Trade and Food Processing and Marketing, 4) Agrarian Policy, 5) Forestry and Wood Products, 6) Statistics. 16/ It was headed from its inception in September 1949 until October 1953 by Dr. Wilhelm Niklas (born in 1887 at Traunstein, Bavaria, CDU/CSU). Although he had accepted the idea that in the long run the German farmer must face foreign competition and therefore specialize, he favored slow and cautious transition from the planned to a free economy. 17/ During the second half of his term of office, ill health forced him to relinquish day-to-day direction of the Ministry to Dr. Theodor Sonnemann,

a political appointee and a choice of the leaders of the German Farmers Association. The latter's uncompromisingly aggressive defense of the market control system, embodied in four marketing laws which regimented production, processing grains and feed, sugar, milk and fats, livestock and meat, won him the reputation of a champion of protectionism and the nickname of "Dr. Marktordnung" (Dr. Marketing Regulation).

In 1953 Niklas was succeeded on the "green throne" by the present incumbent Dr. Heinrich Luebke (born in 1894 in Enkhaven, Westphalia, CPU/CSU, member of the Prussian State Diet before 1933, Minister of Agriculture in North Rhine-Westphalia from 1949 to 1952, member of the Bundestag from 1949 to 1950, and general manager of the Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives). Luebke is described as a knowledgeable, skillful and forceful personality, but of ill health. He is the author of the Luebke Plan, which envisages the entry of German agriculture into a common European market and aims at cost reduction by rationalization and greater efficiency, rather than by protectionist measures as subsidies, tax privileges, lowered interest rates, and so forth, as are demanded by his opponents. The cause of protectionism, is however, advocated by his own deputy minister, Dr. Sonnemann, likewise a forceful personality and supported by the farmers' organizations. That cooperation

between them is bad, is no secret. 18/ Subsidiary to the Ministry is the Aussenhandelsstelle fuer Landwirtschaft (Foreign Trade Agency for Food and Agricultural Products) in Frankfurt Main, in charge of procurement of foodstuffs from abroad, licensing of imports, storage, and so forth. 19/

The following institutions, although technically private associations have semi-official character: 20/

Land-und Hauswirtschaftlicher Auswertungs-und Informationsdienst (AID, Agricultural and Home Economics Analysis and Information Service), Bad Godesberg, Heerstrasse 124, has been established through the initiative of the Food and Agriculture Division of HICOG and operated largely with US aid. It applies American methods in dissemination of agricultural-technical information to German conditions through pamphlets, periodicals, leaflets, film strips, exhibitions, soundtracks, etc. Dr. Kurt Petrick is chief.

Kuratorium fuer Technik in der Landwirtschaft (KTL, Society for Agricultural Engineering), Frankfurt/Main, Soesmaerstrasse 6, is successor to the Reichskuratorium fuer Technik in der Landwirtschaft, founded in 1931, which had aimed at overcoming technical backwardness in German agriculture as compared for

instance to Holland and Denmark. It established machinery-advisory stations and technical courses. After World War II it was revived and is controlled by the Federal Ministry of Agriculture.

The Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Foerderung des landwirtschaftlichen Bauwesens (ALB, Association for Improvement of Agricultural Construction). Frankfurt/Main, Feldbertstrasse 28.

The Landwirtschaftskammern (Agricultural Chambers), which have partly official administrative and advisory functions, are treated below under IV (6).

The organizational pattern of the Land (provincial) ministries corresponds roughly to that of the federal ministry. Agricultural affairs fall in the field of concurrent legislation, that is the Laender (provinces) can legislate, insofar as the federation has not acted. However, difficulties sometimes arise from competence conflicts. 21/

Within the legislative branch the Bundestag has a Committee for Food, Agriculture and Forests and the Bundesrat an Agrarian Committee (Agrarausschuss). The land legislatures, also have agriculture committees which control the provincial administration. 22/

#### IV. AGRARIAN PRESSURE GROUPS

Outstanding pressure groups affecting the legislative policies of the government in agricultural matters have been the farmers, the consumers and the business interests. Each of these groups has its representatives in the Bundestag as well as in professional organizations outside the parliament.

##### A. Agricultural Associations

1. Deutscher Bauernverband, e.V.\* (DBV, German Farmers Association). Headquarters: Bonn, Koblenzerstrasse 121. President: Dr. Andreas Hermes.

During the Nazi period all peasant associations and all professional corporations had either been dissolved or incorporated in the Reich Food Estate. They were revived in the various Laender soon after the war and linked together to the Deutscher Bauernverband, a voluntary federative association of over a million members, well organized from community up to district and land level, aiming at the monopoly of representation of all agricultural interests. It has been granted the right of laying a compulsory levy

---

\* e.V., eingetragener Verein, means registered association.

on farm property at the rate of DM 1 per DM 1,000 of assessed value, which applies to all farmers whether or not they are members (Law of 5 March 1948, enacted by the Bizonal Economic Council). Thanks to this privilege the DVB rose rapidly to become the most influential pressure group. It has placed some of its people in important government positions, drafted proposed legislation and pressed for its passage. It also succeeded in getting its representatives into the administration and control of the divers quasi governmental agencies and entered into contact with international agrarian organizations. 23/

Although paying lip service to modernization, it has concentrated its energies on protectionism, like subsidies, price supports, tax privileges, and so forth, has opposed trade liberalization, having among its members many owners of small farms of marginal rentability. It thus became trapped between announced goals and real purposes when it became clear that the new Agriculture Minister meant business. Basically its aim is not change at all, but to make the status quo more comfortable. 24/ Thus the opposition against the Luebke Plan centers with DBV, which has efficient lobbies with the CDU and the FDP.

The dominant personality in the DBV is Dr. Andreas Hermes (born in 1884 in Cologne, former minister of finance

in the Weimar Republic and opponent of the Junkers, after 1943 the recognized leader of the anti-Hitler conspiracy in the Rhineland and proposed minister of agriculture in the "Provisional Government" of the conspirators of 20 July 1944. 25/ He was in charge of Berlin's food supply after the Soviet conquest, but went soon to the West, where he became one of the founders of the CDU). A very vigorous and capable personality, he has been instrumental in the development of the DBV and its president since its inception, although his views have not been unchallenged by other spokesman of the organization. His efforts to keep a united agricultural front are partly jeopardized by the Bavarian federalists who insist on "State's rights" and by Catholic groups who claim the prerogative of youth education. For 1954, the major objectives of the DBV may be listed as follows:

- (a) Restoration of a united agrarian front.
- (b) Enactment of parity legislation.
- (c) Securing of favorable treatment for agriculture in the major tax reform.
- (d) Increasing the availability of funds for financing land settlement and land consolidation projects.
- (e) Enactment of legislation to prevent re-splitting of land holdings.
- (f) Enactment of fruit and vegetable marketing laws. 26/



The association would be strong enough to thwart the Luebke Plan if it so desired. In the international field it is an active member in the work of International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP), founded 1949, and Confederation europeenne de l'agriculture (CEA), founded 1948. It is opposed to the "Green Pool," the so-called Pimpflin Plan, which aimed at an agricultural equivalent of the Schumann Plan. Every year the DBV stages the Deutscher Bauerntag (Annual German Farmers Convention) in connection with a Farm Women's and a Farm Youth Convention.

The DBV has won a dominant position in the Federation of German Cooperatives (see below), and Dr. Hermes was made its president in 1949. It also controls the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der land-und forstwirtschaftlichen Arbeitgeber-verbaende (Federation of Agricultural and Forest Employers Associations) with the same headquarters, a high level organization of all agricultural employers' associations for collective bargaining with the employees' organization. At the same headquarters is also the office of the Zentralausschuss der deutschen Landwirtschaft (Central Committee of German Agriculture), a coordinating committee comprising the four leading agricultural organizations, the Cooperatives, the DBV, the Agricultural Chambers and the Agricultural Society. The latter two, however, have kept their independence from the DBV.

The opposition of the DVB against trade liberalization, its protectionist attitudes and monopolistic tendencies worries considerably the Agricultural Division of HICOG which--as long as it exerted influence on internal German policy--tried to counter balance its preponderancy by supporting the German Agricultural Society. 27/

2. Deutscher Landfrauenverband, e.V. (German Farm Women's Association). Headquarters: Stuttgart, Rote Buehlstrasse 84. President: Maria Luise Graefin Leutrum. Membership: 80,000 in 6,700 local groups. Re-founded in 1948.

The Farm Women's Association is affiliated with the DBV. Its main purpose is education in home economics. In 1950 HICOG appointed a liaison officer, Mrs. Catharine Holtzclaw, who arranged leadership training courses using American experience in that field. US policy was to encourage some independence from the DBV. 28/

During 1953 the association staged 17,000 lectures, training courses, demonstrations and study trips; it operates about 170 community houses for farm women, "Haeuser der Baeuerin"; it plans community laundries and freezing plants. The association, however, does not have sufficient funds of its own and lacks central leadership, remaining, therefore, a minor influence. 29/

3. Bund der Deutschen Landjugend, e.V. (League of the German Farm Youth). Founded in 1949.

The Farm Youth League is also attached to the DVB. Its aim has been cultivation of rural tradition, revival of the village community and agricultural education. In the provincial organizations of Bavaria and Westphalia some conflicts arose with the Roman Catholic youth organizations in 1954. 30/ The central educational institution of the League is the Farmers College at Fredeburg (North Rhine-Westphalia) largely established with ECA counterpart funds.

4. Deutscher Raiffeisenverband, e.V. (Federation of German Agricultural Cooperatives). Headquarters: Bonn, Koblenzerstrasse 121 (see DBV). President: Dr. Andreas Hermes. Membership: About 3,300,000 in 23,600 cooperatives.

The German agricultural cooperative organization is an old organization with a tradition of long standing. It had been founded by Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, whose name it has carried since 1849. The cooperatives, based on self-help and community autonomy, formed in 1930 a Reichsverband of about 40,000. They were incorporated by the Nazi Regime into the Reichsnaehrstand and revived in 1948. The Deutsche Raiffeisenverband comprises all kinds of rural cooperatives as credit, purchase, production and sales cooperatives. 31/

The cooperatives situated in the East Zone (about 6,000) continue to exist, but were fused with the Vereinigung der gegenseitigen Bauernhilfe (VdgB, Association of Mutual Farmers Aid) and, having lost all vestiges of autonomy, are centrally directed "democratic mass organizations." 32/

The Federation handles an ever-growing portion of the total farm purchase of seeds and fertilizers (60%), 82% of the milk output in cooperative dairies, a large part of the butter (74%) and cheese production (50%), as well as milk canning, the marketing of eggs and livestock, providing of new storage facilities, etc.

The business of the cooperatives enjoys certain tax privileges, insofar as it is exempted from the turnover tax for transactions between the cooperative and its members. In the political field the Federation fights for maintenance of these tax preferences and of its present exemption from cartel legislation. 33/

The Federation is controlled by the DVB and has also joined the IFAD and CEA.

5. Deutsche Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft e.V. (DLG, German Agricultural Society). Headquarters: Frankfurt/Main, Niedenau 48. President is Karl Lorberg, former state minister. Membership: 11,275 (1953).

Founded in 1885 by the writer Max Eyth, according to the pattern of the Royal Agricultural Society in England, the German Agricultural Society inaugurated systematic promotion of agricultural technique in Germany. Since 1887 it arranged agricultural exhibitions in all parts of Germany and aided the farmers by consultation concerning farm buildings, testing of seeds, fertilizers and machinery. It was reconstituted in 1948 as a non-political quasi-scientific group and again arranges agricultural shows (the latest in Cologne in June 1953) and regional and national conferences (as the "Green Week" in Berlin, 1953). The "DLG quality seal" and the "DLG wine seal" enjoy increasing recognition. The DLG is the outstanding rival organization of the DVB and resisted, partly with the assistance of the Agricultural Division of HICOG, any encroachment into its own activities. 34/ Other activities of the DLG are: improvement of rural hygiene and education, construction of community freezing lockers, management principles in land consolidation, inter-provincial trips of live stock breeders, improvement of food silage, quality tests of mixed food concentrates, sewage water utilization, plant breeding, testing methods for agricultural machinery, quality improvement of food processing methods, wasteland cultivation methods, testing food for export to tropical countries, and so forth. 35/

The German Agricultural Society has had a close relationship to the Association of Agricultural Chambers and a common president. The Society tried to prevent the exclusive domination of the agricultural chambers by the DBV.

6. Verband der Landwirtschaftskammern, e.V. (Association of Agricultural Chambers). Headquarters: Frankfurt/Main, Bodenheimerstrasse 25. President: Karl Lorberg, former state minister.

The agricultural chambers have been mentioned above under the heading of government administration (Sec. III), because they are assigned some official functions. Their organization is regulated by law. They are financed by a compulsory government levy and government subsidies. They had been first set up in Prussia (1894), later in Bavaria (1920), were abolished by the Nazis and reestablished after World War II in some of the laender, with the exception of Bavaria and Baden-Wuerttemberg. 36/ A uniform bill providing for compulsory establishment of agricultural chambers in all laender has failed to date to be approved. They are united in the Association of Agricultural Chambers, competing with the DVB, which, however, gained influence in the local chambers of Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse. 37/ They have been active in matters pertaining

to legal proceedings in refugee settlement, land consolidation, advisory services to young farmers, quality improvement of fruit and vegetables by awarding a quality seal, operation of secondary agricultural schools, control of bovine tuberculosis, water economy, and so forth. 38/

7. Other Agricultural Organizations

There exist many other agricultural associations of far lesser importance e.g.: 39/

Gesamtvertretung der heimatvertriebenen Landwirtschaft

(Association of Refugee Farmers). Bonn, Argelanderstrasse 171.

Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der inneren Kolonisation

(Society for the Furtherance of Internal Colonization).

Duesseldorf, Haroldstrasse 3. (Formerly presided by the present Agricultural Minister Prof. Heinrich Luebke.)

Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Grundbesitzerverbaende (Federa-

tion of Farm Owners Associations). Heidelberg, Bergstrasse 55. Representing the interests of the larger land owners.

Agrarsoziale Gesellschaft, e.V. (Society for Rural

Sociology). Goettingen, Hoher Weg 3. President: Walter Strauss.

Verband der Diplomlandwirte und Diplomgaertner, e.V.

(Association of Graduates of Agricultural Colleges).

Frankfurt/Main, Festhalle.

Verbindungsstelle Landwirtschaft-Industrie, e.V. (Liaison

Agriculture-Industry). Essen/Ruhr.

Landwirtschaftlicher Arbeiterverband (Agricultural Em-

ployees Association). Membership: 109,000 (1950).

Is a member of Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB, German Trade Union Federation) and aims at representation of agricultural workers on equal footing with farm owners.

See also AID, KTL and ALB, in Section III.

B. Political Parties and Agricultural Policy

The farming population constitutes approximately one-fifth of the entire West German population, but the number of the farmer delegates in the Bundestag is much lower. There are farm representatives in most of the political parties, but particularly in the CDU/CSU, the FDP and GDR. Thus the Adenauer coalition includes a substantial farmer representation, while the SPD, the chief opposition party, has only a few farmers among its delegates. 40/



1. Christlich-Demokratische Union/Christlich-Soziale Union (CDU/CSU, Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union). Deputies in Bundestag 1953: 244.

The Party, which is developing from the Roman Catholic Center Party before the Nazi period to an all-comprehensive party in favor of a free economy, demands special furtherance of small and medium units in agriculture. In the Thirty Point Directives of its Bavarian branch of 1946, the Party states as its aims the preservation of a vital peasantry through price policy, increased productivity, mechanization, and education. It demands, also, old age pensions for agricultural workers and promotion of the cooperatives. 41/

The Ministers of Agriculture, Dr. Niklas and Dr. Luebke, have been recruited from party ranks and the agrarian policy of the government expresses the program of the CDU.

2. Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP, Free Democratic Party). Deputies in the Bundestag 1953: 48.

The Party claims to be the most consistent advocate of a free economy against statist tendencies. Its program demands free peasants on free soil, legally granted individual ownership. Agricultural work must be equally treated with other sectors of the economy. However, the Party expects the welfare of agriculture not only from increasing productivity,

but also from a protectionist trade policy and opposition against the Luebke Plan has come partly from the FDP. As a representative of industrial circles the party is also interested in keeping down consumer-price levels. 42/

3. Gesamtdeutscher Bloc (GDB, All-German Bloc). Formerly Bund der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten (BHE, League of Expellees and Disenfranchized). Deputies in Bundestag 1953: 27.

Also member of the government coalition, the party represents expellee farmers from the Soviet and Polish zones.

4. Deutsche Partei (DP, German Party). Deputies in Bundestag 1953: 15.

Conservative and centralistic, the party represents farmer interests and is of influence as a member of the government coalition.

5. Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD, Social Democratic Party of Germany). Deputies in Bundestag 1953: 150.

The Social Democratic Party revised its strictly Marxist agrarian program at the convention of Kiel in 1927 and has recognized private ownership of land. After World War II,

the SPD repeatedly denied, particularly at its party convention in Hanover, 1946, any intentions of nationalization of the land. 43/ It favors land reform by reducing over-size holdings and promises to support the independent self-working farmer. Professor Carlo Schmid stated in October 1953, his party favored a large and prosperous farmer class. 44/ Only absentee owners should be expropriated. However, the SPD favors far-reaching government control of marketing and prices, for it represents, together with the Federation of Labor Unions, predominantly the consumers' interests. It also supports the Association of Agricultural Workers and Employees in labor relations.

Leading agricultural expert of the SPD is Prof. Dr. Fritz Bade (born in 1893, a former member of the German Reichstag and author of the agrarian program of the SPD; during World War II he lived in Turkey, later in US; after World War II, president of the Institute for World Economy at Kiel University; member of the Bundestag).

V. A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RECENT WORKS ON GERMAN AGRARIAN POLICY

Agartz, Viktor. Sozialdemokratische Wirtschaftspolitik (Social Democratic Economic Policy). Frankfurt, Verlag der Volksstimme, 1946.

Aktionsprogramm der SPD (Party Platform of the SPD). Bonn, 1954.

Asten, Otto. Agrarbibliographie (Bibliography of Agriculture). Hamburg, Agricola-Verlag, Monthly.

Bade, Fritz. Brot fuer ganz Europa (Bread for All Europe). Hamburg, 1952.

Battelle Memorial Institute. Prospects for the Development of Germany, Based on Agricultural Research. Columbus, Ohio, 1952.

Boyers, Wilhelm Friedrich. Landwirtschaft in der USA mit unsern Augen gesehen (American Agriculture As Seen with Our Eyes). Hamburg, Agricola-Verlag, 1951.

Meinhold, Wilhelm. Grundfragen der Agrarpolitik (Basic Problems of Agrarian Policy). Minden, 1948.

Neide, K. von der. Raiffeisen's Ende in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone (The End of the Raiffeisen Cooperatives in the Soviet Zone of Occupation). Ed. by the Federal Ministry for All German Questions. Bonn, 1952.

Neuling, Willy. Neue Deutsche Agrarpolitik. Tuebingen, Mohr, 1949.

Niklas, Wilhelm. Ernaehrungswirtschaft und Agrarpolitik (Food Economy and Agrarian Policy). Bonn, 1949.

Niklas, Wilhelm. Unser taegliches Brot (Our Daily Bread). Hamburg, Agricola-Verlag, 1951.

Roemer, Th. and A. Scheibe. Handbuch der Landwirtschaft (Manual of Agriculture). Berlin-Hamburg, 1953.

Schlange-Schoeningen, Hans. Lebendige Landwirtschaft (Agriculture Alive). Hanover, 1947.

Schloegl, A. Agrarpolitik, einst und jetzt (Agricultural Policy, Once and Now).

Schmidt, Hubert G. Food and Agricultural Programs in West Germany, 1949-1951. Ed. by Office of the High Commissioner for Germany. Bonn, 1952.

Schuettauf, Alexander Werner. Grundfragen der Agrarpolitik (Basic Problems of Agrarian Policy). Munich, Isar-Verlag, 1952.

Strothe, A. Deutsche Agrarpolitik (German Agrarian Policy). Hanover, 1950.

Weber, Adolf. Agrarpolitik. Rev. by Wilhelm Meinhold. Berlin, Duncker and Humblot, 1951.

## VI. REFERENCES

1. Adolf Weber, Agrarpolitik. Rev. by Wilhelm Meinhold. Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1951, pp. 38-65.
2. Ibid.
3. Hubert G. Schmidt, Food and Agricultural Programs in West Germany, 1949-1951, Bonn, HICOG, 1952.
4. Weber, op. cit., pp. 66-81.
5. State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report, despatch 50, 8 July 1954, Unclassified.
6. Schmidt, op. cit.  
Weber, op. cit.
7. State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report, l.c.
8. Schmidt, op. cit.
9. State, Bremen, despatch 228, 2 Jun 54, Unclassified.
10. State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report, l.c.
11. New York Times, 4 Mar 54.
12. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 18.
13. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 46.
14. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 112.
15. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 49 ff.  
State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report.  
Mutual Security Agency, Report to Congress on the  
Mutual Security Program June-December 1953.  
Message from the President of the United States Trans-  
mitting the Report of the Mutual Security Program  
(covering operations Jan. to June 1954).
16. Handbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1954, Koeln-Berlin, Heymann, 1954.

17. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 72.
18. State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report, l.c.
19. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 72.
20. Land-und Hauswirtschaftlicher Informationsdienst.  
Die Landwirtschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bad  
Godesberg, 1952.  
Schmidt, op. cit., p. 166 ff.
21. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 44.
22. Deutschland Taschenbuch, Tatsachen und Zahlen, ed. by  
Hans Joachim von Merkatz and Wolfgang Metzner, Berlin,  
1954.
23. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 16 ff.
24. State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report, l.c.
25. J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, The German Army in Politics,  
1918-1945, pp. 623-24.
26. State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report, l.c.
27. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 18 and 45.
28. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 48.
29. State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report, l.c.
30. Ibid.
31. Weber, op. cit., pp. 280 ff.
32. K. von der Neide, Raiffeisens Ende in der sowjetischen  
Besatzungszone. Ed. by Bundesministerium fuer Gesamt-  
deutsche Fragen, Bonn, 1952.
33. State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report, l.c.
34. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 18 and 45.
35. State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report, l.c.

36. Weber, op. cit., p. 217 ff.
37. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 13.
38. State, HICOG, 1953 Annual Agricultural Report, 1.c.
39. Deutschland Jahrbuch, 1954. Klaus Mehnert and Heinrich Schulte (ed). Essen/Ruhr, Westverlag, 1954.
40. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 40.
41. Weber, op. cit., p. 116.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.  
Aktionsprogramm der SPD, Dortmund 1952, rev. Berlin, 1954.
44. Christian Science Monitor, 7 Feb 55.